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yarkwá festivals. On these occasions they assemble in a special house lying toward the north on the eastern half of the circumference. However, the Clowns may also be seen singly or in small groups on many other occasions, even in everyday situations; but they withdraw from all the more serious and solemn ceremonials.

In their public performances the Clowns are distinguished by their grotesque make-up as to paint, ornaments, and other paraphernalia; and their behavior is correspondingly absurd. They affect a ridiculous gait and mien and deceive the villagers by harmless lies and false alarms without evoking resentment.

For example, when a boy's ear lobes are pierced, his maternal uncle kills a deer on some unspecified day, dissects it, packs the slices into a basket, and furtively carries this to the plaza. No sooner have the women caught sight of him than they dash out of their houses with knives in order to snatch off a piece of meat in the general scrimmage. One morning when this episode had been due for several days there finally loomed a figure at daybreak that ran toward the plaza carrying a load, which it hurriedly deposited before taking to its heels. At once the women and girls rushed over with yells, fell upon the basket pell-mell, and tore it open, each trying to seize as much as she could of its contents. But this proved to consist of straw, rotten wood, rusty tin cans, and a few rocks. Not only the Clowns, but the whole village laughed at the women standing flabbergasted before their "booty" with their knives and finally they themselves joined in the general merriment.

At certain house-to-house processions the Clowns try to steal food and are sometimes beaten by the women, to everyone's amusement.

At pepkahą'k four of them, with their two girl auxiliaries, enter with face masks of *Lagenaria* rind.

However, the ceremonial activities of the Clowns, as well as of the other organizations are best considered in the description of the festivals.

The Hąmrén

This honorific order comprises five otherwise unrelated groups which share public esteem and ceremonial eminence: (1) the village chiefs (pa'hí); (2) the leaders (mamkyẽ'ti) of the age classes; (3) those girls who are associated with the boys during their initiation ceremony and are called pepkwẽ'i after the close of the initiation; (4) the women's precentresses (mehõkrepúi); (5) the King Vultures (tamhą'k). Because of the numerical preponderance of the last-named group over the others combined, the term hąmrén is often used as a synonym for tamhą'k; properly it means "recovered from illness."

The first three groups of functionaries are appointed by the council on the basis of personal fitness. This also determines the choice of a precentress, but she is usually selected by the girl's family.

Notwithstanding the respect accorded to the hąmrén, they are not coextensive with the persons of distinction, for the councilmen, who (with the chiefs) rule the tribe and are always approached reverentially with a bowlful of food, are by no means hąmrén *as* councilors, but only through special circumstances. Similarly, the precentor, though far more important than his female colleague, is never hąmrén ex officio.

The natives link the concept of hąmrén with that of something special, superior, more refined, so that they are somewhat distinct from the rest of the population. The head of the King Vultures compared them to the "doutores" of Neobrazilian rustics, who apply the term to all intellectuals, superior officials, etc., irrespective of academic rank. By contrast all other residents are classed as mekakránkra (me,

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123 Čątú heard about it he gashed himself in the corresponding spot with a knife. Such
608 a display of friendship is usually rewarded with a present.

For a pinčwę'i such performances are carried to a grotesque degree: Once a little
608 girl had been stung by a scorpion, whereupon her two pinčwę'i executed a mad
522 scene before the assembled throng outdoors. While the child was howling with pain inside, the women acted as though they had caught the scorpion (which had long since got away) and were allowing it to sting them. Then they pretended crushing it between their fingers and devouring it. In addition they indulged in all sorts of antics, evoking general mirth.

152 Similar nonsense is also practiced whenever a "friend" is ceremoniously distinguished, that is, especially at the beginning or the termination of seclusion in the initiation and the pepkahą'k festivals. Then the friends carry on most extravagantly around their hąpín by way of displaying their mad exultation over the distinction conferred on him. On one occasion a man straddled his sword club as though it were a hobbyhorse and wildly galloped about, wielding his signal trumpet as a crop; another howled and scratched up the earth like a dog; still another pulled back his prepuce and simulated copulation. Most commonly they dance about with protruding tongues, grotesquely swinging their limbs and their heads.

Mutual ceremonial obligations are extremely numerous and intricate. A friend
608 invests a person with ornaments, glues falcon down on his body, and paints him.
302 When the first commandant of the pepyé is freed from seclusion, his pinčwę'i decorates him. If possible it is a hąpín that paints a pepyé with the designs of his plaza group; and at pepkahą'k the pinčwę'i glue falcon down on the King Vultures and the similar decoration of the pepkahą'k themselves devolves on corresponding
[768] girl friends. Anyone who has been excluded from social intercourse by long absence or seclusion due to illness, mourning, and the like, cannot resume normal participation in the communal life unless he is first painted by a pinčwę'i or hąpín and has thus presented himself before the council in the plaza. Whenever, for example, I return to the tribe, my pinčwę'ipey, Kañõ', paints me and, because of my status as a King Vulture, hence, hąmrén, she also decorates me with falcon down. At a major ceremony of the great festivals the friends of either sex are compensated for their services with meat pies offered by the decorated performers' kinswomen; otherwise a minor gift constitutes their fee.

[764] When set on the bier, a man's corpse is painted by his pinčwę'i, a woman's by her hąpín, falcon down being substituted in case of a hąmrén. The remuneration is not taken from the dead person's property.

In most cases the decoration worn at a ceremony is surrendered at its close to
608 the wearer's hąpín and pinčwę'i. At the end of a pepyé seclusion the comb with
292 which a novice's sister had stroked his hair was immediately turned over to his pinčwę'i, who suspended it from her neck. After the solemn parading of the first pepyé commandant subsequent to the lifting of his seclusion, his pinčwę'ipey immediately removed all his decorative outfit, viz., his forehead and girdle bands, bandoleers, and cotton belt; and nothing could induce her to sell me these regalia. The two girls graduating with the pepyé were divested by their pinčwę'i at the girls' final appearance in the plaza, while their hąpín appropriated the presents laid down for that purpose before them by the girls' kinswomen. At the close of their festival the pepyé, decorated with cloths, beads, and green tucum cords, left for a log race against the next oldest age class; at the exit from the village their pinčwę'i surrounded them and took off all their ornaments. Similarly, the women and girls who twice divest the pepkahą'k of their yellow cords are the wearers' "friends."

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with any sort of support for his head and the hollows of his knees. For lines to be drawn, the genipa is laid on with cotton wads attached to the tips of little rods, whereas dots are put on with comblike wooden stamps (mehõ′kčą) (pl. 35, *f*). Any older member of the plaza group, preferably the pepyé's hąpín, will undertake the job, at which one or two young women or girls always assist; for though the plaza groups have no regular women members, some of the members' young kinswomen are always in attendance.

The genipa decoration yields rather pretty effects, but being executed with great care it begins to pall, so that a fair number of pepyé fell asleep on their mats as I did myself, and had to be awakened when the work of art was done. Then the subject would make his body rigid, allowing a classmate to raise his head and to help him up lest the movements of his limbs blur the moist drawing. After the genipa juice had grown tolerably dry, the decoration was completed with red urucú.

In the meantime Pąnhí, who had given the signal for the novices' retreat into their cells on July 14, sang a song before each house in turn:

Yayumri rõ′rohõ kam nõ
? babassu leaf on it lies

When all plaza groups had completed the decoration of their pepyé, they simultaneously marched out of their meeting places holding urucú-stained "pure" poles, proceeded toward the plaza, where they formed a circle, with the two pepyé girls and a precentor facing each other in the center. The commandant was brought from his sister's house, but halted outside the circle with his deputy and the catcher. Thus they danced and sang two chants, then moved on to the čẽpre lodge, situated very nearly at the east point of the village and diametrically opposite the eastern leader's one-time retreat. While they continued chanting inside the house, two of their number went around the boulevard, assembling girls and young women by letting them touch the "pure" poles, by which they led them behind themselves. When all were together in the čẽpre lodge, they jointly departed singing and dancing around the boulevard to the east leader's one-time retreat, and thence to the plaza. The commandant and his deputy walked in step behind the dancers.

In the meantime the as yet uninitiated pąntų′ktíkama boys had assembled in front of their vų′tẽ (the western one, since they with the wakõ′kama occupy the east side of the plaza). The pepyé now suddenly ran in a body toward these boys as though about to call them to a race, but just as abruptly faced about to return to the plaza. Then they similarly ran to their own vų′tẽ's house (the eastern one, for the pepyé are stationed beside the põ′híkama on the west side of the plaza). There they picked up a pair of old race logs as though about to race with them, but after a few steps they threw them away. At last they trotted back to the western vų′tẽ's home and by couples began to race the pąntų′ktíkama from the space in front of the house to the plaza. Naturally the pepyé invariably won, but the comical seriousness and intense zeal of the little boys—some of them under six years of age—in trying to minimize the distance between them and their opponents aroused the councilors' mirth as well as their benevolent appreciation.

Immediately after this race the pepyé and wakõ′kama raced three times around the boulevard with two logs already previously used. At first the former seemed about to emerge as victors, but finally the older group triumphed by virtue of their greater endurance.

Pepyé camp; dances; log race.—Now the pepyé jointly went to the Santo Estevão woods, where they cut off large bunches of anajá fronds and dragged them to the plaza. There, round a fireplace, they arranged a site, which henceforth served

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3. One old man (mekapónkate), sharing no form of behavior with the bearer of the identical title in the boys' initiations except for his marching at the end of the ceremonial column. His sole function is to eat the heads of game killed by the pepkahą'k, these parts being taboo to younger men. The incumbent, Kenkum, was one of the most insignificant men in the village.

4. Two girl associates (pepkahą'kkuičwę'i), one from each moiety—Konkré from the eastern, Pačédn from the western; the latter was already betrothed. Like the mekuičwę'i of initiation festivals they are taboo to their male fellow internes. Each girl had among these one kinsman of her own moiety who regarded himself as her guardian and stood behind her during the singing.

5. Two messenger boys (kra'tõ'ipakatire). Prentáp represented the eastern, Krokočą' the western moiety; they were about eight years old and their main duty was to carry back into the village residences the gourd food bowls emptied by the pepkahą'k. They are officially the girls' sleeping mates, and the rules of internment apply to them only in part.

6. Two "children" (mehikra) of the pepkahą'k, boys of about five, whose internment was not rigidly enforced.

7. Twelve young men, the true pepkahą'k, six from each moiety. Their number, however, was soon raised to eighteen. All of them had graduated from the cycle of initiation that closed in 1929, but had not taken part in the preceding pepkahą'k of 1928. None of the boys secluded in the preceding year's ketúaye was admitted among the pepkahą'k.

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Capture; preparations.—Directly after the evening dance of April 18, the pepkahą'ktum, that is, those who had taken part in 1928, formed a circle, which is characteristic for the pepkahą'k songs, assembled in the plaza, and began to sing in an undertone. Beside them stood the two chiefs Ropką' and Hąktokót; the two secretly appointed catchers, To'põ' and Kuikõ', watched carefully and carried on a whispered conference. Suddenly To'põ' ran toward and around the dancers, clasped Iką', a vigorous young man of the western moiety, from behind, and led him to the junction of the plaza and the radial path thither from Iką''s maternal home. There, without releasing him, he made him face the center of the plaza. At once Kuikõ' stepped up to the captive, divested him of his earplugs and arm bands, and while combing his front hair with the fingers of both hands he sang, "Itamčwę' [my nephew] yaklé [is glad] pemã he!" Then out from among the spectators at the periphery of the plaza leaped the snake doctor—a hąpín of Iką''s—dancing and screaming like a madman behind the captive, dug up the earth dog-fashion with his hands, and retracted his prepuce, simulating the movements of cohabitation—all this to betoken his insane joy over his hąpín's belonging to the pepkahą'k. The same procedure was followed with another young man of the eastern moiety, one Mĩkrõ', Chief Hąktokót's eldest son. These two were the mamkyẽ'ti of the present pepkahą'k; of the two, Iką' played the more prominent part in the festival.

Similarly, ten others were caught from among the spectators and put in position, always alternately from the two moieties. Some fled into their maternal house to hide, but all in vain. With each captive the same grotesque scene with a hąpín was repeated. One of the spectators suddenly straddled his sword club as if it were a hobby horse, wielded his trumpet like a whip, and capered at a gallop behind his captive "friend." Another met his hąpín's pinčwę'i behind the friend's back, put his arms around her, and pretended to cohabit with her.

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After sunset the new pepkahą'k marched a little way on the street leading westward out of the village and camped in the steppe for the night.